

fourteen men against the Indians, and that Captain Ogal went to his relief with twelve scouts. And that all were killed except the two captains and three men.

There is something convincing in Browning's account of the pioneers running out after the Indians, for that was just like the minute men, who never knew discipline of any kind.

The histories agree that three men escaped with their lives, two of whom were wounded. If there is any desire to work on a quod libet as to the identity of the unwounded man, Browning gives a clew by showing that it was John Caldwell. Another had his thigh broken, and the third had an arm broken.

The white savage that John Caldwell saw was no doubt Simon Girty, who was with the Indians in that battle and held a long parley with the fort and read to them the proclamation of General Hamilton, of Fort Detroit, offering the frontier inhabitants immunity if they would come in and surrender at Detroit. But doubters have arisen to say that Girty was not at Fort Henry.

Browning also tells about the effort the Indians made to make a cannon out of a hollow log wound about with chains, and how it burst and destroyed a number of Indians.

Browning left Wheeling to return to the wilderness to marry at the age of eighteen, Mary McMullen. The young couple built a home in the woods in the pioneer style and cleared out a farm. Browning's hunting was his sport and largely his living. He settled near the Deep Creek country made up of mountain lands, and valleys, and great stretches of glades where the deer waded in grass above their backs.

He estimated that during his lifetime he had killed from eighteen hundred to two thousand deer; from three to four hundred bears; about fifty panthers; and many wolves and wildcats, and any amount of other game. Passing allusions indicate that he was in a fine trout country, but he only took them as needed and fishing was no more an incident with him than digging potatoes. His young wife Mary seems to have been more of a fisherman than he himself.

Dr. Wilson, Mayor of Marlinton, comes from the same community in which Browning lived, and his ancestors lived there from the very earliest period of the pioneer.

The Wilsons are all familiar with the Browning book. The one question that is usually asked is whether the Browning book is reliable. I think so. I believe it from kiver to kiver. My main reason for believing it is because I have heard countless old hunters relate the intimate circumstances attending the tragedy of the big game animal, and I see no particular difference between the histories except that in one case they are written down with meticulous precision and in the other case they were related by word of mouth. And in all the cases the old hunters found the supreme emotions of life in the occasions.

I was on the train the other day with the Hon. George Wilson and he referred to the occasion of the old man Browning waking up and finding himself fast to a tree as being rather extraordinary, but I do not recall that he doubted it. I will set down here that incident:

I and my two sons John and James prepared for a hunt on the North

Branch of the Potomac. We loaded one horse with provisions, and two others with articles, such as an axe, a pot, a small griddle, potatoes, apples, etc.; when all being ready to take up the line of march, after breakfast we set out for the Potomac.

We had traveled but a few miles, when rain commenced falling slowly, and continued all day. As we returned from the previous trip we had found a fine sugar camp at the foot of the Great Back Bone and there we sheltered for the night. A hooting owl awoke me and we prepared for breakfast.

I did not eat any breakfast and we packed as much provision over the mountain as we could carry as the horses could not go any farther. The horses were sent back and we hid the rest of the provisions behind a log, covering it with puncheons and hiding it with pine and laurel bushes. We saw different herds of deer but being encumbered with our loads, we did not get a shot at them.

Finding a situation for a camp, and it clouding up and threatening rain, I went to work in great haste to construct a shelter for our provision; and we worked with all our energy until the boys said they were hungry and would eat dinner, camp or no camp. I told them I would look for a suitable tree to split into puncheons, and I soon found it and we commenced to cover the cabin. It had commenced to rain slowly. Though I had not eaten anything since the morning of the previous day, and night was near at hand, yet I determined not to eat until I had a little sport; so I took my gun, told the boys that I would go up the bottom, shoot a deer, and have a roast for my supper.

I had thrown off all my clothes in order to be at full liberty to work, and had on only a thin linsey hunting shirt together with a pair of new buckskin moccasins without stockings; and in order that I should see my game more clearly, I left off my hat, as was always my practice when the sun did not shine. I intended to return in an hour or two at the farthest. I hunted with care and judgment and soon found the tracks of a large herd of deer which had so recently passed that I expected to see them every moment. I soon found that it was where several old bucks had been chasing a lot of small deer and that the little ones were afraid of being overtaken by their pursuers."

Browning relates that it came on to rain and he got lost and night overtook him and had to lay out all night.

"I went in search of some place for shelter, but could find nothing better than crooked old hemlock, which had been injured many years previously, and which the bears had gnawed so much that there was a great quantity of rosin plastered over the whole side of the tree, which was much flattened by the injury it had received in the years gone by. I chose that tree for shelter and set about building a fire.

The rain having ceased to fall so fast, I rested against the tree, and fell asleep. Being tired, I slept soundly, until it ceased to rain, and commenced snowing and freezing; when the cold becoming severe, and the fire having died away, I grew chilly, and, awakening, attempted to mend the fire, but found the hair on one side of my head sticking fast to the tree.

At first, my temper being pretty well tried and my patience having

failed me, I was as mad as a bear shot through the belly, and bawled out, as if twenty persons had been looking on: "What other curse is on me now?" I soon calmed, and putting my hand up to find what held me, I discovered my hair fast in the pitch that had been heated by the fire. I had laid my head in it when it was soft and running, and had slept until the cold had chilled the pitch with my hair deep into it.

I then began to try to release my head, but not one lock would come out, except by pulling off the pitch, or pulling the hair out of my scalp; so I sometimes took the one, and sometimes the other plan, as it happened, until at last I got my liberty. I then mended the fire.

After that I reasoned thus: "Now I have not eaten one mouthful since the day before yesterday, and it was nothing but a foolish desire for sport that brought me here."

At last daylight appeared, when everything being covered and bent down with the snow, I hunted for bushes that had leaves on, which I dried over the fire, and, putting some in my moccasins, I put my feet in on the leaves, crammed in leaves around them until I could get no more in, then tied them up, and was ready for the snow.

I started out from my warm fire into the snow. I soon scared up four deer, but did not see them until they ran off. Moving on I saw a deer standing looking at me and thought it was a long shot and a bad chance, I cracked away at him. The snow was falling so fast that it was difficult to see any distance, and as I could not discover the deer after my gun was discharged, I went to examine what damage had been done. It seemed as if there had been twenty deer there, all running and fighting, for there was blood after several of the bucks, and so much hair torn off I could not arrive at any certain conclusion.

They all went off together, and as the fun fever began to rise high, I started off in a long trot after them, and had gone but a short distance when my dog wheeled suddenly to my left, which told me that one was in shooting distance. I viewed the ground and found that it must be behind a very large fallen tree, but to see it was impossible. I looked around for means of raising me up high enough to see over the log, when I discovered a tree which had fallen into the form of another and was considerably elevated. I went to it and crawled up its sideways until I saw the horns of an old buck.

"Well, my fellow," said I, "you are my meat or I am no judge of shooting."

Still though I did not see his head, I could see very near to it; and I thought if the snow was off the log his head would be a fair mark. So I guessed at his position, shot at him through the snow, and down fell the horns. I leaped off the tree like a panther, and with one jump was on him, cut his throat in the crack of a thumb, and commenced skinning him. If ever I skinned a deer quickly, then was the time, for the sight of all those deer in one gang had set my pulse up so high for sport, that I thought every minute was an hour, as I was sure that if I could only overtake them in good ground, I could kill half a dozen of them before night.

The buck skinned, I cut off one whole side of the ribs, tied the meat up in the skin, and started off on the trail of the others.

I had not gone more than half a mile, when hearing a halloo, I turned around and saw my two sons, who had heard me shoot, and finding my tracks in the snow were in full chase to overtake me. I could not prevail on them to follow my big gang of deer, as they were afraid I would faint with hunger, but I knew I could have gone until dark if I had once got a shot at those deer. They turned me toward camp, and as we passed by the place I had killed the buck we took his carcass with us. John Lynn baked buckwheat cakes, besides stewing a fat turkey hen with potatoes and turnips. I really thought it was the best meal I ever tasted in my life.

We had commenced the hunt too late so we closed the hunt with the slaughter of five deer. To such as are not accustomed to wilderness life this fast of three days seems to want some explanation. In reference to it, I will only say that a man will live a long time under the stimulus of a high fever, and I know of no higher fever than which may be excited by the prospect of a bear fight, or of securing half a dozen fine fat bucks."

It is evident that the late Mr. Browning was a hunter from away back, hankering after things which others idle by. He describes the events with great particularity and knows the ways of the woods.

He belonged to a great day and generation. He helped to conquer the wilderness. Men like him bred a restless race. It is finding some little surcease from sorrow in the game of golf: "Golf! Slow back, don't press, keep your eye on the ball! Hooray!" But the woods are tame compared to the time when Meshach Browning slept against that tree.

CHAPTER XVII

The Lost Colony of Westsylvania. The Seneca Trail Runs for 198 Miles Through It.

The motto of the United States is *E pluribus unum*—one out of many, but in the beginning all of the English possessions in North America were included in one dominion under the name of Virginia. In the days of Queen Elizabeth, Virginia was known as the fourth kingdom. Spencer's *Faerie Queene*, published in 1590, was dedicated to "Elizabeth, Queen of England, France, Ireland, and Virginia." After the crowning of the Scotch king, James I, Scotland was added to the title, and Virginia became the fifth kingdom of the realm. This was in 1603.

In 1649, Cromwell having conquered Charles I, and beheaded him, William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, proclaimed Charles II, king of England, Scotland, Ireland,*and Virginia, and from this action on the part of the colonial governor, the title of Old Dominion was applied to Virginia. In Virginia as late as 1773, coins were struck showing the four quarterings. And it was the year 1649 that the Fairfax grant was dated conveying the land in the 22 counties of the Northern Neck to Culpeper and his associates. Culpeper bought out his partners, had the title confirmed to him, and left it to his daughter, Catharine, the

Baroness Fairfax, who left it to her son, Lord Thomas Fairfax. This was for all the land between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers.

Numerous colonization schemes were projected of the public domain in the New World by the English government.* Thirteen of the colonies lived to join in the Declaration of Independence. Something like thirty-seven colonies failed to materialize or endured for a season and passed away. There lived to join the Republic: The Province of Maine, New Sweden, or Delaware, and Westsylvania, now West Virginia.

It is not too much to say that West Virginia should be included in the last named class, and claim for Westsylvania that vision of those pioneers who demanded that Westsylvania be recognized as the fourteenth colony under the Declaration of Independence. That in West Virginia that vision splendid and whole arose and carried out the plans of the men of 1776.

It will be remembered that Virginia's first grant was to the company composed of George Summers and others and was dated April 10, 1606. Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn in payment of a debt, by a grant dated March 4th, 1681. The boundaries were very indefinite. It is fairly certain that for the first hundred years that Pennsylvania acted as though it had no possessions west of the Alleghany mountains, no title to any land drained by the western waters. As late as 1763, the colony of Pennsylvania was engaged in driving back the squatters on the Ohio waters, in obedience to the proclamation of the King of England, for all settlers west of the mountains to return. Virginia took no notice of the proclamation either officially or individually, but Pennsylvania assisted in clearing the reservation.

When Great Britain imported an army under General Braddock, in 1755, to drive back the French from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania sent three hundred men to help cut a road but it had no soldiers in the fight. Virginia contributed a very considerable force, and the Six Nations offered warriors to assist in the movement.

Probably the best evidence that Pennsylvania claimed no territorial right on the waters of the Ohio is shown by the grant of the lord commissioners to the Ohio Company, in the year 1749. That company had the right to take up 500,000 acres on the Ohio river. It was to have no civil jurisdiction but it did have the right to build forts and conduct trade with the Indians. It seems to have been something like the grant of the same year to the Greenbrier Company, to take up 100,000 acres north and west of the Cowpasture river. The right to survey seemed to be perfect but no grants issued until after the Revolutionary War, and then they did not have any greater rights than the settlers on tomahawk claims. The Ohio Company did build a fort at the mouth

*Among such colonies are listed: Acadia, Albemarle, Alexander's Charter, Avalon, Clarendon, Carolana, Dorchester, Fenwick, Frankland, Indiana, Laconia, New Albion, New Amstel, New France, New Haven, New Ireland, New Netherlands, New Somersetshire, North Virginia, Norumbega, Northern Neck, Nova Scotia, Ohio Company, Old Dominion, Pavonia, Pittsylvania, Plough Patent, Plymouth, Rensselaerswyck, Roanoke, Sagadahoc, Swaanendael, Transylvania, Vandallia, Walpole Grant, and District of Columbia.

of Wills Creek on the Potomac and another at Redstone, on the Monongahela river, but there is no evidence that in either instance did these adventurers return to Pennsylvania.

The treaty of 1722 had confirmed the lands on the western waters to the Indians. Great Britain took the view that it was paramount lord to the Indians, a policy that has been faithfully followed by the government of the United States. Here is the way that Great Britain got title. They made a gold crown and crowned Powhatan, King of Virginia, that is of all the lands left for Great Britain, which included the lands from ocean to ocean and from the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and having thus made him King of Virginia, or as we would now say, King of America, they entered into a treaty with him by which Great Britain took title to all America. That was a stroke of diplomacy.

It was apparent that about the time that the king closed the land office at Williamsburg before the Revolution, that the many bright minds of Virginia, were exercised over the problem as to the best way to grab the lands on the western waters, and that Pennsylvania was stirring in her sleep, also. The great tide of immigration came through the port of Philadelphia, and the boldest and the bravest, the Scotch Irish would not settle down with the Quakers and the Menonites, but pushed over the mountains where the hunting was good and where there was danger from Indians, for the Irish dearly loved the fight. Up to the date of the Declaration of Independence, however, Virginia had full and complete possession of the Pittsburg district, in that it maintained a garrison at the forks of the Ohio. There was a good deal of bitterness between the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia about this. There were some very ugly fights and quarrels, about such places as Catfish Camp, now the city of Washington, Pennsylvania, and at Brownsville and Uniontown.

The French and Indian war breaking out in the seventeen fifties put a damper on the Ohio Company, and when Bouquet, from Staunton, got the Indians quieted, the crown took a hand in the western water shed and got the Indians together at Fort Stanwix, (now Rome, N. Y.) and there the Six Nations entered into two deeds. Twenty-four Indian traders, mostly Pennsylvanians, claimed that in Pontiac's war the Indians had stolen their goods to the value of 950 pounds, sixteen shillings and sixpence. For this they agreed to take a sizable state including practically all of the Pittsburg district and call it square. The rest of the land between the Ohio river and the Tennessee river the Six Nations ceded to George III for love and affection. These paper titles gave offense to Virginia. The traders sought to form a colony with their acres and called it Indiana. The House of Burgesses of Virginia passed a law that all deeds from Indians were null and void. This afterwards disposed of the Henderson grant from the Cherokees, and the colony that he proposed to call Transylvania. As a consolation prize, however, Virginia gave Henderson 144 square miles of land on the Ohio at the mouth of Green river.

The Pennsylvanians were very much disappointed in not being able to hold the Pittsburg district, their state of Indiana, and they began to lobby through a scheme to get that land back and a lot more under

the Vandalia project. This has been represented as a popular uprising and some years ago a petition was found signed by seventy-two citizens of the Greenbrier Valley, asking the king to form a new colony west of the mountains. To read this petition one would think that it represented a ground swell from the people, but that is not the case. The petition was propaganda pure and simple. It was to back up the land scheme. Virginia opposed it as strongly as she knew how. It did not fit in with the plans of Washington or the other Virginians seeking to plant settlements on the west side of the mountains. It was rejected at first in London. It was heard before the Board of Trade and Plantations. It was meant to include most of West Virginia, the eastern part of Kentucky, and a part of Pennsylvania. Lord Hillsborough opposed it and Benjamin Franklin supported it before the board. The petition was finally granted in 1775, but it came too late, as the king's writ was not honored in Virginia after the battle at Point Pleasant. Vandalia was never more than a land grabbing scheme. They first asked for 2,500,000 acres. The prime minister suggested that they ask for more so they suggested twenty-five million acres. The colony of Vandalia existed on paper from 1772, but it does not appear that any of the soldiers in Dunmore's war had ever heard of the name even. For years after the Revolution claimants to land under the Vandalia settlement were advanced in Congress and elsewhere, but they were absolutely ignored.

No sooner had the Declaration of Independence been promulgated, however, when a real colony was proposed by the backbone of the Revolution. The Irish on the western waters, now historically known as the people of West Augusta demanded of Congress that they be recognized as the fourteenth colony, under the name of Westsylvania. If these people instead of asking permission of Congress had asserted their right and organized a government, it would have been instantly recognized and a great state formed and the Civil War would have been averted.

The bounds of Westsylvania are as follows: Beginning on the Ohio river at the mouth of the Scioto river, thence southerly a straight line to the pass in the Quasito mountains (Cumberland Gap), thence along the side of said mountains northwesterly to the point where the Great Kanawha river is formed by the junction of the New river and the Greenbrier river, thence along the Greenbrier river to the head of the northeastern branch, then from there to the top of the Alleghany mountain, thence along the said mountain to Fairfax's line, then with it to the head of the north branch of the Potomac river, thence with the line of the Province of Maryland, thence with the southern and western lines of the Province of Pennsylvania to the head of the Ohio river, and with that river to the point of beginning.

This motion was made the 9th day of August, 1776, a little over a month after this country cut loose from England. It was estimated that 25,000 families lived in that boundary. The boundary had been at war for a generation with the Indians. It was the hot bed of the Revolution. There were more riflemen in that boundary than in all the rest of the dominions. It was where the fighters lived.

Virginia did not approve of the fourteenth colony and that commonwealth was all powerful at that time. On June 12th, 1776, the Virginia convention adopted its Bill of Rights. On June 29th, 1776, its constitution was adopted. Col. John Evans, of Monongalia county, was a member of that convention. He was afterwards colonel of a regiment in the Revolution. Virginia assembled its legislature in October, 1776, going on its way to independence and directing the continental congress at the same time. Its answer to the movement to establish the colony of Westsylvania, was to grant the wishes of those people by creating the District of West Augusta, creating at the same time its subdivisions of the three counties of Yogogania, Ohio, and Monongalia, appointing a board of commissioners to visit it and confirm the titles of the settlers in possession. Some 1197 tomahawk grants, or squatter rights, were speedily confirmed and the demand for a new state was quieted so far as Virginia was concerned. Later Virginia gave up most of Yogogania county to Pennsylvania, reserving a narrow strip called the panhandle above Cross creek, Brooke county. Then Pennsylvania passed a law that if any person ever proposed to diminish her boundaries by talking about new states that he should be guilty of high treason and be punished by death. This ought to settle the question whether treason can be committed against one of the sovereign states.

The answer to the demand for the formation of a fourteenth colony was the creation of the District of West Augusta, now sometimes referred to in business circles as the Pittsburg District. It is said to be the richest boundary in the world, all things considered.

At the time the mountaineers declared for Westsylvania and estimated the population to be 25,000 families, there was no town or city within its borders. Then as now, Pittsburg was the most populous place, but it had only thirty houses. Probably the next largest settlement was Frankfort, in Greenbrier county. A settlement in those days was a community of families surrounding a stockade fort. The fort at Lewisburg is said to have accommodated as many as five hundred persons. In 1776, a large number of persons lived within reach of the fort at the mouth of Wheeling creek, first called Fort Fincastle but later named Fort Henry. Large settlements centered around Brownsville and Catfish Camp in Pennsylvania.

There was not a single county seat or court house in the bounds of Westsylvania. Indian raids had been constant for about twenty-five years. The inhabitants grew up and flourished in the shadow of death by torture. The proposed state consisted of a large number of communities loosely bound together and united only by common danger. None held title to lands other than that they had cleared it with an axe and held it with a rifle.

As a matter of fact a new race sprang into existence at that period consisting of a sort of supermanhood produced by careful selection and environment. In after years they had given the name of Scotch-Irish, but that does not do them justice. A better name was one of spontaneous growth and belonged to them exclusively, and that was Backwoodsmen. It is a name that we do not share with any other class or race. Recently there is a motion to refer to them as the Tallmen. I

am in favor of glorifying them under the classification of Backwoodsmen.

They were the heroes who sifted through the luxurious and prosperous colonies on the lower levels stepping downward to the sea. Nine out of ten of them were Irish Presbyterians, and the odd man was fully as daring and resolute. The great numbers of them came through the centers of the Quaker and Pennsylvanian Dutch to the mountains and from the north poured down the parallel, though like valleys of the Alleghanies. Others entered through the Potomac gap, the Narrows of Knapps Creek, the Midland Trace, and the New River country. They were sorted twice. In the first place they had the nerve to leave the old country and brave the dangers of the stormy deep, and in the second place, the lure of danger from the Indians attracted with an irresistible force and so they crossed the mountains.

Tired of the monotony of the sheltered homes of low lands, it was the custom of these men to take a rifle, an axe, and an augur and walk westward. On arriving at the place where the mountains changed and the streams flowed towards the west, each pioneer set about looking over the vast wooded domain for a place to make a home. Everything was open to him. He wandered from stream to stream and observed the character of the land, the kinds of trees, and the presence of springs. Finding an ideal place he marked some trees nearest the spring, and set to work to clear a field for a corn crop. This being done the corn was planted, and he set to building a house out of logs, and with his axe and with an augur he built and roofed a one-room house with clapboard roof without the use of a single nail or other iron. The floor was the earth. There were no windows. A puncheon door swung on wooden hinges and was secured by a bar and a latch with a string.

By this time the corn was raised and ready to leave to ripen, the pioneer walked back to the lowlands to get his family and they trailed back with a cow or two, rarely a horse, and took up their abode in the new home.

Hundreds and thousands of Backwoodsmen came across the mountains in this way, and it was soon apparent that their environment had affected their carriage and their conduct so that they were foreign to the people of the east. It showed in thought, speech, stature, dress, and accomplishments.

One of the most remarkable incidents in the founding of this new race of Backwoodsmen was immediate increase in weight and height, accomplished in a single generation, so much so that a man six feet tall was of ordinary stature. It has been observed by historians but so far as I have heard no satisfactory theory has been advanced for this striking change. My theory, based on my observation of domestic animals is, that this giant race responded instantly to a diet of corn bread, by which is meant Indian corn, which was the only bread that the pioneer used. It depends upon feeding with other vertebrates, may it not be true as to the man animal?

Another striking difference was in the dress. In the mountains every family did their own weaving and spinning and the character of cloth from flax and from wool has never been exceeded for the use for which

it was designed. The men wore a distinctive dress. It was as distinctive as the kilts of the Highlanders, and far more useful. Someday when we really appreciate the noble qualities of our ancestors, we will go on dress parade in the hunter's dress, referred to in those days as the wammus. It was of universal wear in Westsylvania. A pioneer might not wear any more trousers than a Scottish chief but he lived in his wammus. It was belted and in that belt the hunter carried his woods axe and hunting knife. It accentuated the appearance of height in the wearer.

The Backwoodsmen were self-sustaining. You cannot mention a thing they could not produce on their own farms and hills that was necessary to the comforts of their lives. They made their own weapons, cloth, sugar, leather, implements, salt, gunpowder, lights, dishes, and ovens. They lived on the fat of the land.

But for the dreadful danger of the Indian raids, they might have become soft and tame. To this day their descendants, even though they live in palaces in cities, are never easy about their homes when they are absent. It is a hangover from that time when a man might return from a hunting trip to find his house burned, some of his people dead and scalped, and others carried into captivity. There are a lot of things that we cannot understand that are bred in the bone.

The ethnical effect upon the women in the backwoods was equally remarkable, of course. A finer breed of women never lived. They were equal to any emergency. Take the case of Mary Bozart on Dunkard Creek in Monongalia county in 1778. The Indians approached her house. There were two men there and both were shot, one being killed and the other disabled by a wound. In the time that it took, some three minutes, to herd the young children into the house before the Indians could enter, Mrs. Bozart killed three of them with an axe and then held the door against the rest of the raiders until soldiers could come from Prickett's fort.

One of my grandmothers was married at eighteen years. In the last year of her single life she had seventeen proposals of marriage. She was the mother of fourteen children.

Martha McNeel, the wife of John McNeel, was left at home alone while her husband and every other able bodied man in the Little Levels of Pocahontas county marched to the battle at Point Pleasant in 1774. During his absence on this campaign a child was born to her and soon afterwards died, and the mother prepared the coffin and dug the grave and buried it unaided.

Mary Vance Warwick, while her husband was in the army of the Revolution, went from the stockade alone to her home four miles away through the forest. She discovered a large Indian war party and was able to take the word to the fort and prevent its surprise.

Ann Bailey rode from Fort Young at Covington to Point Pleasant over the Indian trace time and again and carried powder and lead to the garrison.

Betty Zane carried powder from one fort to the other at Wheeling under the fire of hundreds of Indian warriors.

Hannah Dennis, captured by Cornstalk, became the wise woman of his nation, and when she escaped walked three hundred miles through the wilderness and survived.

Physically these pioneer women were nearly perfect. They could undergo the perils of maternity and never lose a day from their household work. They were deeply religious and trained up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The changing scenes of their lives had the effect of making them ready to accept the bright and vivid radiance of the Methodism of Wesley in place of the gloomy and austere faith of the Covenanters. This in itself is in keeping with the renaissance resulting from a super-race of mortals being set down in a fruitful wilderness, there to found a race and give color to a people to be known to the ends of the earth as Americans.

At the time we had decided to be Westsylvania, the heroes of the backwoods were woodsmen who were skilled in the art of Indian warfare and in wilderness life generally. Such men as Boone, Cresap, Clarke, Wetzels, McDonald, Crawford, David Williamson, Robertson, Sevier, Shelby, Brady, McCulloch, and the like.

They had perfected a rifle that was superior to any thing known before that time. A long rifled gun made of soft iron, shooting a ball that ran as small as seventy to the pound, but which was precise and deadly. Reports of British officers in the Revolution were to the effect that their wounded were negligible in numbers, but that many of their soldiers were killed instantly by a shot in the forehead between the eyes.

During the Revolution the Backwoodsmen were never menaced or raided by the British troops. It was the most dangerous ground known in that war on account of the Indian allies who were induced by the British to side with them. In all of Westsylvania there is no record of a Tory. But in some colonies it was sometimes hard to tell whether there were more king's men or more congress men. And the price of scalps paid by the British had the strange effect of bringing Tory scalps just the same as Whigs. This reacted most woefully on Tory sentiment when they found that Great Britain was buying their hair.

It was about this time that the people of Westsylvania commenced to put Indian hides in their tanning vats in their yards.

The prompt action on the part of the first assembly to meet after the Declaration of Independence in establishing the district of West Augusta, and in perfecting the title to the lands on the western waters, satisfied the Virginians, but it did not satisfy the fighters who lived in what is now Pennsylvania. The same spirit of independence caused a revolt in that part of Westsylvania in 1794, when Congress laid a tax on whiskey, which constituted the main money income of that part of the country. Westsylvania saw a bigger army of white men at that time than she saw during the Revolution, and about a thousand of them were Virginians from Westsylvania. David Bradford headed that strike.

But a thing is never settled until it is settled right. And the failure to form the Fourteenth Colony was the direct cause of the Civil War, and the belated formation of the State of West Virginia.

It is possible that if quick transportation and the modern cities had come sooner that the people of Virginia could have continued to live together, but as time went on the mountain people found it more and more irksome to live and do business under the domination of a race of people with whom they had so little in common. Then and now to be a citizen of West Virginia is greater than to me a king. They can brook no restraint upon their actions. They are as wild as the eagle.

*"He clasps the crag with hooked hands,
Close to the sun in lonely lands,
Ringed with the azure world he stands.
The wrinkled sea beneath him crawls,
He watches from his mountain walls,
And like a thunder bolt he falls."*

The rending of Virginia was bound to come sooner or later, on account of the diversity of the creatures. If the good Lord had seen fit to let the colony of Westsylvania live, it is the opinion of those who are able to interpret history, that the Civil War would never have been. With a powerful state reaching from the Great Lakes to Tennessee, of great wealth and population, and inclined to the free soil policies, the great tragedy of the United States would have been averted.

That we are different from the teeming millions of the great centers of population, we would be the last to deny. It has brought its problems and its perplexities. If we are quick on the trigger, they are quick on the uptake, and they find the loose joints in our armor, and many is the sly dig that their kept scribes give us.

In the meantime we do very well, thank you, and someday the song of Westsylvania will be the song of Roland and the pine.

*"God's ways seem dark, but, soon or late,
They touch the shining hills of day;
The evil cannot brook delay,
The good can well afford to wait.
Give ermined knaves their hour of crime;
Ye have the future grand and great,
The safe appeal of Truth to Time!"*

comfort, and the ideal of his endeavors was to have a home of his own amid fields and meadows. Of such homes an eloquent writer says: "The homes of our land are its havens of peace, its sanctuaries of strength and happiness. Hence come those principles of probity and integrity that are the safeguards of our nation."

ANDREW EDMISTON.

Andrew Edmiston, Esq., of Scotch-Irish ancestry, late of the lower Levels, is the subject of this biographic memoir. The immediate ancestry of the Edmiston relationship is traceable to Matthew Edmiston, who came to Augusta County, Va., from Chester County, Pa., among the earliest settlers of Augusta County, about 1740, or very soon thereafter.

James Edmiston, a son of Matthew the ancestor, was one of six children and was born in Augusta County, October 7, 1746, and died October 7, 1817. James Edmiston's wife was Jane Smith, from Ireland, who was born October 17th, 1746, and died May 20th, 1837, aged 91 years. Andrew Edmiston, son of James, was born July 22d, 1777.

Soon after his marriage with Mary (Polly) Gilliland, January 8th, 1807, Mr Edmiston settled near Locust, on lands now owned by George Callison. In reference to Mrs Polly Edmiston, let it be noticed here that she was a daughter of the first Mrs James Gilliland,—

Lydia Armstrong, born October 17th, 1755, and deceased July 23d, 1817. Mrs Polly Edmiston was born July 4th, 1790, and was a bride at 17 years of age. Her death occurred January 2, 1877, surviving her husband thirteen years. James Gilliland, her father, was born in Augusta County, March 16th, 1749, and died February 14th, 1844, near Falling Spring, Greenbrier County, aged 95 years. He married for his second wife Mrs Jane Smith Edmiston, the widowed mother of Andrew Edmiston, in February, 1819. By this marriage Mr Gilliland became Andrew Edmiston's step-father, as well as father-in-law, a relationship so unique as to challenge a parallel in the history of Pocahontas marriage relationships.

This James Gilliland's father was named Nathan Gilliland, about whom we have no particulars. By the first marriage there were six sons, Robert, James, Nathan, William, Samuel, and George; and six daughters, Jane, Sarah, Elizabeth, Nancy, Lydia, and Mary (Polly), the last named the wife of Andrew Edmiston.

What lends interest to what has just been said about James Gilliland's first family is the fact that there are cogent reasons for believing that Hon. Mark Hanna, of Ohio, is a descendant of one of the above named sisters.

It is also interesting to mention that Andrew Edmiston was a lineal descendant of Sir David Edmiston, cup-bearer to James 1st of Scotland; also of Sir James Edmiston, standard bearer of the royal colors in the battle of Sheriffmuir, (1715). In the Revolutionary war Mr Edmiston's ancestors were distinguished, and nota

bly at the battle of King's Mountain. Several of his grandsons were good Confederate soldiers in the late war between the States.

Mr and Mrs Edmiston were the parents of five sons and five daughters: Lydia, Elizabeth, Jane, Martha, Mary, James, George, Matthew, Andrew Jackson, and William.

Lydia Edmiston was married to Richard McNeel, grandson of John McNeel the original settler of the Levels, and lived near Millpoint.

Elizabeth Edmiston became Mrs James Gilliland, of James, Senior, and settled in Davies County, Mo. Jamesport, a town of 1200 population, was located on his farm, and hence was called Jamesport.

Jane Edmiston became Mrs Abram Jordan, mentioned elsewhere as having gone west. So far as known to the writer, she is now living in Kansas with her daughter, Mrs William Renick.

Martha Edmiston married Franklin Jordan, and settled in Missouri, where she died leaving no surviving children.

Mary Edmiston was an invalid all her life and never married. She went with her brother George Edmiston to Missouri.

Matthew Edmiston married Minerva Bland, in Weston, and settled there. His name appears in the history of our State as one of the most distinguished of our native born public characters. In Lewis' History and Government of West Virginia, mention is made

of this distinguished man as follows:

“Judge Edmiston was born September 9, 1814, at Little Levels, Pocahontas County, where after receiving a common school education, he was admitted to the bar in 1835. Four years after he removed to Lewis County, which later he represented in both branches of the General Assembly of Virginia. In 1852 he was chosen a judge of the circuit court, in which position he continued until 1860. He was elected to a seat in the Constitutional Convention of 1872, but because of ill health did not qualify. He was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals in 1886, but one year before his death. Judge Edmiston died June 29th, 1887, at his home in Weston, Lewis County.”

Judge Matthew Edmiston reared a large family. Of his five sons, four became physicians and one a lawyer. Each distinguished himself with marked credit in both private and professional life. One by one they fulfilled the destiny of their career and answered the final summons of life, until to-day but one survives. He possesses the distinction of having been named for the subject of this sketch. Hon. Andrew Edmiston resides at Weston, Lewis County. Of him well may it be said, “His has been a life of great influence and usefulness.” Possessing in a marked degree those sturdy elements and attributes of manhood which have always characterized the Edmiston family, he has brought added lustre to the name. Electing to follow in the footsteps of his eminent father, he has graced and dignified the high calling of the law. Prominent

in politics and state-craft, he has steadily advanced in the esteem of the public until he has erected for himself a monument of honor and influence that will testify in all future time to his worth and greatness. Whether engaged in the discharge of the duties incident to political office or in the less prominent walks of life, he has always served his constituency alike with the same unflinching fidelity. The name of Andrew Edmiston, of Weston, is conspicuously identified with the political history of West Virginia. To few men is given such wide power and influence.

James Edmiston married Mary Hill, daughter of Thomas Hill. He lived a number of years near Mill-point, on the farm now held by C. Edgar Beard. Mr Edmiston was a member of the Pocahontas Court, and for years was prominent in county affairs. Late in life he went west. Mrs Minerva Beard, of Lewisburg, is his daughter.

George Edmiston married Mrs Nancy Callison, relict of Isaac Callison, and a daughter of John Jordan, and lived many years at the homestead. He was a busy, enterprising man, and was engaged in many business enterprises with the late Colonel Paul McNeel. He finally moved to Missouri, where his family resides.

Andrew Jackson Edmiston married Rebecca Edmiston, a daughter of James Edmiston, son of William Edmiston, brother of Andrew Edmiston. After the decease of her husband, Mrs Edmiston became the wife of Jackson Jones, of Nicholas County.

William Edmiston, the youngest of Andrew Edmis-

ton's sons, spent some time with Judge Edmiston at Weston, where he attended school. He then went several terms to Rev Dunlap, principal of the Pocahontas Academy at Hillsboro. When he attained his majority he started to Missouri with Anthony C. Jordan. While on a steamer in Missouri waters he was seized with cholera and died on the boat. The towns were quarantined in a very rigid manner, and all landing was prohibited. Hence the crew were compelled to bury their passenger at a lonely, uninhabited spot, not very remote from St. Charles, Mo. His friend Jordan went ashore to assist in the burial, but would not return to the boat, and finished his journey to Davies County on foot, after successfully eluding the quarantine guards by keeping away from the public routes of travel.

In his youth and early manhood Andrew Edmiston seems to have had a consuming passion for athletic exercises, boxing, wrestling, and feats of muscular endurance. There was living at the time one Thomas Johnson, near the head of Stony Creek, who claimed to be the champion hard hitter of all that region. He heard of young Edmiston's exploits as an athlete, and these exploits created some doubt as to which was the "best man"; and to settle the question the ambitious Stony Creek champion sent a challenge to the champion of the lower Levels, that if he would meet him he would find out that though he might be the best the Levels could show, that he would soon find himself no-

where on Stony Creek if he just dared to show himself up there. This fired young Edmiston, and made him as hot as the furnace we read of in Daniel. He may have sought rest but he did not find any that night, and so he set out by the light of the morning stars for West Union.

He walked from his home near Locust to John Smith's, head of Stony Creek—fifteen or more miles—before breakfast to dispute the question of "best man" with Tom Johnson on his own Stony Creek ground. Without stopping for rest or breakfast he sailed into Johnson, tooth, fist, and toenail. In the first round Johnson landed a terrific blow on Edmiston's shoulder that dislocated Edmiston's arm, and yet he continued the contest until he saw his opportunity, and overpowered Johnson until he called out enough.

John Smith then took charge of the victor, the now best man of Stony Creek and the Levels, and gave him his breakfast, and by noon he was back at Locust. He felt the effects of that dislocation all of his subsequent life. Slight exertion would ever after make his injured arm fly out of place at the shoulder.

In his later years he professed a change of heart and became a member of the M. E. Church. His sincerity was respected by all who knew him best, and regarded genuine. Mr Edmiston died April 15th, 1864, aged 87 years. When the dying day came, when he was to pass over to the bright forever, it was found that he had nothing to do but to die. God had not cast him off in the time of old age, nor forsaken him when his strength failed. At evening time it was light with

this venerable man, and he could realize the power of words like these: "I will go in the strength of the Lord God; I will make mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only."

JEREMIAH FRIEL.

The Friel relationship trace their ancestry to one Daniel O'Friel, a native of Ireland, who probably came to Augusta county with the Lewises, 1740. He settled on Middle River, between Churchville and Staunton. His children were James, William, Jeremiah, and Anna. James O'Friel went to Maryland, Eastern Shore. William settled in Highland County. Anna became a Mrs Crawford and lived in Augusta.

Daniel O'Friel seems to have been a person of considerable means. He sold his property for Continental money, with a view of settling in Kentucky. The money being repudiated, he was unable to carry out his plans. Upon Jacob Warwick's invitation, Jeremiah O'Friel came to Clover Lick. Mr Warwick gave him land on Carrich Ridge. This land was exchanged with Sampson Matthews, Senior, for lands on Greenbrier, now occupied in part by his descendants.

Jeremiah Friel's wife was Anna Brown, daughter of Joseph Brown, who was living at the time on Greenbrier River. Their first home was on Carrich Ridge, then afterwards they lived on the river. Their children were Joseph, Daniel, Josiah, John, Catherine, Hannah, Ellen, Mary, and Jennie.

original Pocahontas secessionists, so intense his devotion to State rights had become.

His second marriage was with Margaret Poage, daughter of George W. Poage, of the Little Levels.

ANDREW WARWICK.

One of the best known names in our pioneer annals was that of the Warwicks. John Warwick; the ancestor of the Greenbank branch of the connexion, was of English descent. It is believed he came to upper Pocahontas previously to the Revolution, and opened up a settlement on Deer Creek, at the place now in the possession of Peter H. Warwick and John R. Warwick. Mrs Warwick, whose given name can not be certainly recalled, was a member of the Martin family in the Valley of Virginia.

John Warwick seems to have been a person of great enterprise, and braved the dangers of pioneer life with more than ordinary courage and devotion to duty. He had a fort raised upon his premises, to which himself and neighbors would resort when threatened by Indian incursions or raids. Being so near to Clover Lick, whose facilities for hunting and fishing were so much prized by the Indians, its erection seems to have been very exasperating to them, and were very troublesome to the settlers living in reach of the Warwick fort.

The only Indian Major Jacob Warwick was ever certain of killing was shot from a tree not far from this fort. The warrior had climbed the tree to reconnoitre the fort, and it is more than probable that the

death of the scout interfered with the Indian plans and intentions of attack.

In reference to John Warwick's children we have the following particulars: Their names were William, John, Andrew, Elizabeth—of whom special mention was made in the Slaven sketches: Mary, who was probably the first lady teacher of schools in our county; Margaret, who became Mrs James Gay and went west; Ann, who became Mrs Ingram and lived in Ohio.

As the Warwick relationship is so extended, it will be treated in groups in these biographic notes. In this paper the descendants of Andrew Warwick will be mainly considered and their history illustrated, concluding with a fragmentary reference.

Andrew Warwick went to Richlands, in Greenbrier, for a wife and married Elizabeth Craig, and then opened up a home on Deer Creek. This property is now occupied by Major J. C. Arbogast. Their children were Jane, who was married to James Wooddell, near Greenbank; Margaret became Mas Samuel Sutton, first wife; Nancy was married to Jacob Hartman, north of Greenbank, and went to the far west. Her children were Sarah Lucretia, Virginia, William; and James. Mary Warwick became the second wife of Isaac Hartman, and lived on property now held by Joseph Riley. Elizabeth Warwick was kicked in the face by a horse about the time she was grown to womanhood, and lingered for years in great suffering and finally died of the injury. Sally Warwick became Mrs George Burner, of Travelers Repose. Anna Warwick was married to Rev Henry Arbogast, and lived

near Gladehill.

Jacob Warwick, son of Andrew Warwick, married Elizabeth Hull, of Virginia, and settled on the Deer Creek homestead; moved thence to Indiana, and finally to Missouri. His children were Mathew Patton, Amos, Andrew Jackson, William Craig, Caroline, who became Mrs George Tallman; and Rachel, who was the youngest. They all went with their parents to the western states.

This paper will be closed by a fragmentary reference to John Warwick, of John the elder.

In the winter of 1861 there was an officer with the Ohio troops in the Cheat Mountain garrison by the name of Warwick. The writer has been informed that he claimed descent from the Pocahontas Warwicks, and made some inquiry concerning the Warwick relationship.

The tradition is that John Warwick, Junior, married Margaret Poage of Augusta County. It is believed James Poage, her father, lived awhile on Knapps Creek, and afterwards moved to Kentucky.

Upon his marriage John Warwick, Junior, settled on the lower end of the farm now owned by Captain G. W. Siple. Parties yet living remember seeing traces of the cabin he had built and dwelt in. He remained here but a short time however, and moved to Ohio about 1790.

There were three little boys, one of them named John- The Union officer claimed to be a descendant of a John Warwick from West Virginia, a grandson, and was a son, doubtless, of one of those little boys

that went to Ohio with their parents from their cabin home on Deer Creek. This Federal officer became a member of Congress, and achieved a national reputation by defeating William McKinley in a Congressional contest. Many no doubt will readily recall this interesting event in the history of Ohio politics.

WILLIAM WARWICK.

The group of the Warwick relationship treated of in this paper includes the descendants of William Warwick, son of John Warwick, the early pioneer.

Like his brother Andrew, William Warwick lost his heart in the Richlands of Greenbrier, and married Nancy Craig, a sister of Mrs Andrew Warwick. They settled on Deer Creek, where Peter H. Warwick now lives, and were the parents of three children: Robert Craig, Elizabeth, who became Mrs Benjamin Tallman; Margaret, who became Mrs John Hull, and lived on the head of Jacksons River.

Robert Craig Warwick, the only son, at one time crossed the Alleghany to pay his sister a visit. One result of the visit was that he and Esther Hull were soon married, and the happy young people settled on the Deer Creek homestead. They were the parents of three sons and six daughters. In reference to their children the following items are recorded:

Catherine Hidy Warwick is now Mrs William Bird. Her children Elvira Louisa, now Mrs William McClune, near Millpoint; Robert Craig Bird, at Clifton Forge; John Henry Bird, Covington; George Newton

Anne Bailey in West Virginia Tradition

GRACE McCARTNEY HALL

I

Meet Anne Bailey

"Israel had her Deborah; Spain delights to dwell upon the memory of Isabella; while France glories in the names of Joan of Arc and Lavalette. . . . But the Western heroines of our own land . . . displayed more true courage than any examples in ancient times or in modern history beyond our own land." Thus wrote Virgil A. Lewis, chief biographer of the border heroine, Anne Bailey. Lewis continued: "England gave her birth; Virginia, a field of action; Ohio has her dust."²

More specifically Anne Bailey is known as the "Pioneer Heroine of the Great Kanawha Valley."³ But this modest and reasonable title seems almost prim amidst an array of extravagant and colorful phrases. Rare indeed are simple homey terms such as the "Mother Ann" of one early writer.⁴ More to the nineteenth-century taste are literary and classical allusions such as: "She was a veritable Meg Merriles . . . a thorough gypsy in look, habit and vagabondage."⁵ The genius of Sir Walter Scott has immortalized Meg Merriles but "in the Ohio Valley there arose a woman, if such she might be called, more remarkable in career, more strange and wild in character than Jean Gordon [original from whom Scott drew Meg Merriles of *Guy Mannering*] ever was."⁶

Writers delved deeper into history and folk lore and Anne became the Semiramis of America.⁷ Now Semiramis was hardly motherly, nor was she gypsy-like in character, being an

¹ Virgil A. Lewis, *Life and Times of Anne Bailey* (Charleston, W. Va.: The Butler Printing Company, 1891), p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

³ Virgil A. Lewis, "Anne Bailey," *The State Gazette* [Point Pleasant, West Virginia], October 10, 1901, p. 6.

⁴ "Mad Ann the Huntress," *United States Magazine*, III (September, 1856), p. 227.

⁵ Charles McKnight, *Our Western Border* (Philadelphia: J. C. McCurdy and Company, 1815), p. 709.

⁶ Augustus Lucy Mason, *The Romance and Tragedy of Pioneer Life* (Cincinnati: Ohio, Jones Brothers and Company, 1883), p. 401.

⁷ *Hardesty's Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia*, Mason County, West Virginia, Putnam County, West Virginia, Northwestern Ohio, Lawrence County (Chicago: H. H. Hardesty and Company, 1883), p. 2.

ancient Assyrian queen, famous for her administrative skill and military prowess.⁶

Tributes, classical or otherwise, continued to pour from nineteenth-century pens and were often more enthusiastic than fitting. "... I would see a figure blazoned there more clearly with that of Jean d'Arc or Boadica; Isabella or Daronardla; Theodosea or Martin Luther; it is that of Ann Bailey."⁷ The excessive admiration overflows a few paragraphs later: "Sir Galahad on his white charger adventuring forth in search of the Holy Grail does not lay stronger hold upon our imagination than does this lone woman . . . riding . . . in the holy cause of freedom."¹⁰

But Anne's admirers kept abreast of the times. The turning away of the American literary mind from romantic and classical themes to the American scene is reflected in the tributes paid to Anne Bailey. At the turning of the century, homespun heroes were in vogue, and Anne's admirers kept apace: "... this woman's courage and bravery is of the same stuff and ranks with . . . the hero Crockett of the Alamo fame."¹¹ "... she exhibited the loyalty of a Paul Revere and the courage of a Betty Zane."¹² "She hunted, rode alone through the wilderness, and fought the Indian like a Boone or a Kenton."¹³ "... Anne Bailey was herself a Daughter of the Revolution."¹⁴

In 1953, Julius de Gruyter made Anne's story as modern as tomorrow's television set. She became "the original girl scout"¹⁵ and "one of our early 'career women'."¹⁶

Who was this woman of whom such extravagant things were written? What is the most effective manner in which to review the large but scattered body of printed matter concerning her?

⁶ Charles Mills Gayley, *The Classic Myths* (New York: Ginn and Company, 1911), p. 308.

⁷ Mrs. James R. Hopley, "Anne Sargent Bailey," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, VI (1907), p. 341.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 344-345.

⁹ Lillian Howell Messenger, "Anne Bailey," *Ann Bailey, Thrilling Adventures of the Heroine of the Great Kanawha Valley*, Mrs. Livia Poffenbarger, editor and publisher (Point Pleasant, West Virginia, 1907), p. 5.

¹⁰ Samuel Harden Stille, *Ohio Builds a Nation* (Lower Salem, Ohio: The Arlen-Sale Book House, 1929), p. 66.

¹¹ James Hughes, *Pioneer West Virginia* (Charleston, West Virginia: Published by the author, 1922), p. 69.

¹² Virgil A. Lewis, "Some Notes About Anne Bailey," *The State Gazette* [Point Pleasant, West Virginia], October 24, 1901, p. 1.

¹³ Julius A. de Gruyter, *The Kanawha Spectator* (Charleston, West Virginia: Jarrett Printing Company, 1922), p. 129.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

II

The Plan for this Study

The story of Anne Bailey, as it has come down to us by word of mouth and in print, affords an interesting study of a legend-in-the-making. Since her death in 1825, the events of her simple, yet heroic, life have been told and retold in poetry and in prose, in drama, and on the radio. Road markers and memorials in three states attest the fact that Anne Bailey passed this way. School children read about her career as a scout and about her alleged ride to save Fort Lee (now Charleston, West Virginia) from the Indians.¹⁷

As far as documentary evidence is concerned, little is actually known about Anne Bailey, but a wealth of incident, factual or otherwise, has attached itself to the story of her life. Magazines, newspaper files, history books, and the publications of historical societies preserve for us the few known facts of her career. They preserve for us, also, the accumulation of embellishment that has exaggerated her story to fantastic proportions. It is the purpose of this study to sift the probable elements from the improbable and by so doing to demonstrate how the tradition grew.

In preparing the study, it seemed expedient first to give briefly the most reasonable and acceptable account of Anne's life and use this as a basis from which to present the varied and colorful versions that have appeared in the one hundred twenty-nine years since her death. This "most acceptable account" was found to be a composite story as told by Virgil A. Lewis and amended by Roy Bird Cook.¹⁸

The reasonable and acceptable account of Anne's life is followed by variations of the story. The variations fall naturally into seven divisions, or chapters: first, stories of her early

¹⁷ As concerns the telling of the story for school children, the reader is referred to the following: Sylvia Soupart, *Stories of West Virginia for Boys and Girls* (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia University, Jarrett Printing Company, 1934), pp. 32-34; Charles Henry Ambler, *West Virginia Stories and Biographies* (New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1937), p. 109; Virginia Duffield, *Notes on West Virginia History* (Charleston, West Virginia: Kanawha County Schools, 1942), p. 28. The telling and retelling of the story comprise the burden of this writing and the many versions will be fully established and documented in the course of the study.

¹⁸ Virgil A. Lewis, *Life and Times: Virgil A. Lewis, "Anne Bailey, the Pioneer Defense of the Great Kanawha Valley," The State Gazette* (Point Pleasant, West Virginia), October 18, 1921; Roy Bird Cook, *The Annals of Fort Lee* (Charleston, West Virginia: The West Virginia Review Press, 1935).

life to the death of her first husband; second, eleven years of scouting; third, marriage to her second husband; fourth, the ride upon which her fame rests; fifth, the period following the Indian wars; sixth, her last years; and seventh, description and personality. With each division, the matter treated is arranged in chronological order, insofar as the nature of the material would permit. Each departure from the accepted account is given but once, the huge bulk of printed matter precluding the tracing of each variant through the years from its first appearance in print to its last.

The eleventh chapter deals with markers and memorials dedicated to Anne's memory. Included in this chapter are accounts of two instances of dramatization of the story, one being a radio presentation, the other, one episode of an historical pageant.

Also included in chapter eleven is some mention of Anne's descendants. This, however, is restricted to those who are engaged in literary pursuits.

Virgil A. Lewis, whose account of Anne's life is used as a basis for this study, was admirably equipped to tell the Anne Bailey story. He was born in Mason County, then a part of Virginia, in 1848, only twenty-three years after Anne Bailey's death.¹⁹ His childhood and youth were spent in the vicinity of Point Pleasant where tales of Anne's heroic deeds and eccentric ways were on every tongue. Lewis wrote: "As a child the incidents of her life . . . thrilled my childish heart and forty years ago I learned and jotted down the recitals which I then heard of her."²⁰

Lewis studied law and was admitted to the West Virginia bar, but found history and literature more to his liking than the practice of law.²¹ In 1890 he organized the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society.²² Later he prepared the bill creating the Department of Archives and History,²³ and in due time became the first Archivist of West Virginia.²⁴ These

¹⁹ Thomas Condit Miller and Hu Maxwell, *West Virginia and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1913), II, p. 163.

²⁰ Lewis, "Anne Bailey," p. 6.

²¹ Miller, p. 162.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

facts are given as evidence of Lewis's qualifications as historian and biographer.

There are three reasons for accepting the Lewis-Cook version of Anne's life as the most authentic. First, Lewis's interest was life long, and his published material about Anne covered a period of nineteen years. The story varies little, however, from his first published version in 1891 to his last account in 1910.²⁵ Lewis included in his *Life and Times of Anne Bailey* statements of several persons who remembered Anne from their childhood days. A partial listing of these includes Dr. C. C. Forbes,²⁶ Mr. James H. Holloway,²⁷ Mrs. Mary McCulloch,²⁸ and Mrs. Mary Irion, granddaughter of Anne Bailey.²⁹ This listing is not complete and is presented only as evidence of the fact that Lewis was closer, over a long period of time, to the scene of Anne's exploits than were other writers in the field and hence was better equipped to tell her story than many who preceded him, as well as those who followed him. It must be noted, however, that Lewis wrote prior to Roy Bird Cook's investigation of the pay-rolls of Fort Lee; official state records left by George and William Clendenin, pertaining to Fort Lee,³⁰ and the large collection of manuscripts, pertaining to the Kanawha Valley area, now preserved by the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison, Wisconsin.³¹

A second reason for accepting the Lewis account as basic is the fact that Dr. Cook, after the search of manuscripts noted above, stated: "The best general account, however, is to be found in the *Life and Times of Anne Bailey* by the late V. A. Lewis, one-time State Historian and Archivist."³² Other prominent historians who follow, generally, the Lewis version are Morris P. Shawkey,³³ Phil Conley,³⁴ and Charles Henry Ambler.³⁵

²⁵ The last article published by Lewis was a sketch entitled "Anne Bailey." This appeared in *The Magazine of History*, March 10, 1910, pp. 126-128. Reprints of Lewis' articles appeared after his death.

²⁶ Lewis, *Life and Times*, pp. 69-70.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁹ Cook, *Annals*, pp. 83, 84, 90.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³² Morris P. Shawkey, *West Virginia* (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1928), I, pp. 38-42; II, pp. 198, 317.

³³ Phil Conley, *Beacon Lights of West Virginia History* (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia Publishing Company, 1933), pp. 98-99, 116.

³⁴ Charles Henry Ambler, *West Virginia, the Mountain State* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), p. 183.

A third reason for considering the Lewis account as the most reliable is that Mr. Harry S. Irion, great-great-grandson of Anne, has worked since 1951 collecting and sifting all information relating to her. Mr. Irion says: "After a wide and rather thorough examination of practically every thing that has been written about her I am persuaded to believe that the most reliable information is found among the older writers. . . . Personally I place greatest weight in the writings of Mr. Lewis."³⁶

III

The Lewis-Cook Version

Anne Bailey was born Anne Hennis in Liverpool, England.³⁷ She was not sure of the exact date, but remembered being taken to London when she was five years old. While there she saw the execution of Lord Lovat. This event occurred in 1747, which places Anne's birthdate in the year 1742. Her father was a soldier in Queen Anne's wars and, according to Lewis, Anne Hennis was named for Queen Anne.

The tradition popular in Virginia and most acceptable to Mr. Lewis was that Anne learned to read and write in Liverpool and that her parents died while she was yet in her teens. She thought of friends in America and came, in 1761, to Staunton, Virginia, where she lived with a family named Bell. She was then nineteen years of age.

Soon after her arrival in America, Anne met Richard Trotter, a young frontiersman and survivor of Braddock's campaign. Anne and Richard were married in 1765, and established their home in Augusta County, Virginia. They had one child, a son named William, who was born in 1767.

It was in the year 1774, when the savages were threatening the frontier, that Anne embarked upon her strange career by encouraging the men to enlist to fight the Indians.

Richard Trotter enlisted in the army to continue the struggle against the Indians. He fought in the battle of Point Pleasant and was killed in that encounter. Anne had married at the

³⁶ Harry S. Irion, letter to the author, Dec. 7, 1953.

³⁷ In this chapter, unless otherwise noted, the facts are taken from Lewis, *Life and Times of Anne Bailey*, pp. 1-2, 5, passim.

age of twenty-three, was widowed at thirty-two, and remained a widow for eleven years.

Anne left William with a neighbor, Mrs. Moses Mann, and started in earnest her recruiting of soldiers—soldiers to fight the Indians and the British. "Clad in buckskin pants, with petticoat, heavy brogan shoes, a man's coat and hat, a belt about the waist in which was worn the hunting knife, and with rifle on her shoulder, she went from one recruiting station to another. . . ." The country from the Potomac to the Roanoke was her field of action and before the Revolution ended she was famous along the border.

After the Revolution, she carried messages from Staunton to the distant pioneer forts; and when Fort Savannah (now Lewisburg, West Virginia) was established, she carried messages to that station. From Lewisburg to Point Pleasant was a distance of one hundred sixty miles. Soon Anne had pushed westward to Point Pleasant, the scene of her husband's death.

On November 3, 1785, Anne married John Bailey at Lewisburg. According to Lewis, Bailey was a well-known border soldier and scout. The Reverend John McCue performed the ceremony. Anne was then forty-three years of age.

George Clendenin acquired land on the Kanawha River, at the present site of Charleston, West Virginia, and in 1788 erected a blockhouse which was called Fort Lee. "Here then was another fort to be garrisoned and to it John Bailey went on duty, taking with him to reside therein, his now famous bride." Anne became a messenger from Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant) to Fort Lee.

In 1790 Colonel George Clendenin received a warning from Point Pleasant that the savages were expected momentarily to attack the settlements on the Kanawha. And in January, 1791, Colonel Clendenin addressed a letter to Governor Randolph of Virginia asking for four scouts "to alarm the inhabitants of the approach of the enemy so as to collect together to secure themselves from savage cruelty."

Then Colonel Clendenin received the information that a large body of savages were approaching the fort. While preparing for the defense of the fort, Colonel Clendenin discovered

that the supply of powder was almost exhausted. He informed the garrison of the situation and asked for volunteers to go to Lewisburg for powder. The men gazed at each other in dismay. Anne said, "I will go."

She rode to Lewisburg and brought back the powder in time to save the fort. She was then forty-nine years of age. As a token of gratitude, the soldiers of the garrison gave her the black horse she had ridden and she named him "Liverpool" in honor of her birthplace.

It is interesting to note and of importance in the unfolding of the Anne Bailey tradition that a road had been completed in 1786 from Lewisburg to Charleston.

Indian hostilities in the Kanawha Valley area ceased with the signing of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795,³⁸ and Anne's services as a scout were no longer needed.

"After her famous ride from Fort Lee to Lewisburg, Anne Bailey appears to have abandoned all thought of fixed habitation, and thenceforth, mounted on her favorite horse, 'Liverpool', she ranged all the country from Point Pleasant to Staunton." She became a kind of express agency, taking orders along the Kanawha and as far west as Gallipolis and bringing from Staunton or Lewisburg the goods ordered. She drove hogs and cattle from the Shenandoah and is said to have brought the first tame geese, nineteen of them, from the Greenbrier region into the Kanawha Valley for Captain William Clendenin. Anne was shrewd and when Captain Clendenin refused to pay for the geese, having ordered twenty, Anne drew a dead goose from a bag, threw it on the ground, and received her money. In connection with this story, it is well to remember that Lewis was writing from stories which he had heard as a boy, stories which were part of an oral tradition. It is difficult to conceive of twenty geese being driven on foot, across rugged mountains and unbridged streams for a hundred miles, that being the approximate distance from Lewisburg, Greenbrier County, to the Kanawha area.

It was while Anne was engaged in this express business that her second husband died. The exact time of his death is not

³⁸ *Author, West Virginia*, p. 181.

known. Lewis states simply that his death is believed to have occurred in 1802.

In the years following Bailey's death, Anne continued her wanderings, bringing goods to the settlers, visiting with friends, hunting, and fishing. But Lewis tells little of a concrete nature concerning this period of Anne's life. One incident, however, deserves special mention. That is the occasion of Anne's last visit to Charleston—a visit which was made in the summer of 1817. Lewis quoted two witnesses, both of whom claimed to have seen Anne walking from Point Pleasant to Charleston, a distance of approximately seventy miles. Anne was at that time seventy-five years old.

Anne's son, William, had grown to manhood and had married. Anne lived with him at Point Pleasant for three years. In 1818, William bought land in Harrison Township, Gallia County, Ohio. When William selected a home site back from the Ohio River, about six miles from the present site of Clipper's Mills, Anne refused to go with him. Instead, she went to Gallipolis and built with her own hands a hut of fence rails. She lived here for a short time, William finally inducing her to go to his farm, where he built a separate house for her.

On the night of November 22, 1825, Anne died in her sleep. Two of her granddaughters were with her. She was buried in the Trotter graveyard.

On October 24, 1901, an article by Lewis was published in *The State Gazette* at Point Pleasant. In this article Lewis told of the reinterment, under the auspices of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of Anne's remains in Tu-Endie-Wei State Park at Point Pleasant in 1901. This was on the one hundred twenty-seventh anniversary of the Battle of Point Pleasant.²²

Lewis wrote at length of Anne's personal qualities. She was skilled with the rifle, rode well, and cared for the sick. In her later years, she was a favorite of the French at Gallipolis. She "was 'Grandma' of all the children round about. Many of these she taught to read and to lisp the prayers of childhood for she was a noble, virtuous, Christian woman."²³

²² Lewis, "Some Notes," p. 1.
²³ Lewis, "Anne Bailey," p. 8.

Anne has been accused by many writers of being over-fond of alcoholic drink and of being exceedingly profane in her speech. Lewis stated that he made "careful inquiry of more than a dozen persons," all of whom had known Anne, and found no evidence of her ever having been intoxicated, although he admits that she would "take a drink." Neither did he find any evidence of profanity.

In her years of scouting, Anne had many adventures. Lewis relates two of these stories. At one time, while riding through the wilderness she came across a band of Indians. She dismounted and crawled into a hollow log. The Indians took her horse. When night fell, she trailed the Indians to their camp, took Liverpool, sprang to his back, and uttering a yell of defiance, dashed away to safety.

On another occasion, Anne was caught in a snowstorm in the Allegheny Mountains. She crept into a hollow tree and "held her horse so that he constantly blew his breath upon her, and was thus saved from freezing."

The Indians considered Anne to be insane. Believing anyone afflicted with insanity to be under the special care of the Great Spirit, they had great respect for Anne. They called her the "White Squaw of the Kanawha."

Lewis died in 1912.⁴¹ This was before Dr. Roy Bird Cook published his studies of Anne Bailey and Fort Lee. In 1934 Dr. Cook published an article on Anne Bailey in the *West Virginia Review*. In this article he added some pertinent information to the Lewis story.⁴²

Dr. Cook located the home of Anne and Richard Trotter as being on Mad Anne's Ridge, near Barber, in what is now Allegheny County, Virginia.⁴³

John Bailey and Anne Trotter were both in the vicinity of Lewisburg prior to their marriage in 1785. The tradition is that after their marriage they remained (supposedly) in that locality until the erection of Fort Lee in 1788, at which time they

⁴¹ Miller, p. 242.

⁴² Dr. Bird Cook, "Mad Anne Bailey at Fort Lee," *West Virginia Review*, XI (July, 1934), 242-246.

⁴³ Cook, p. 242.

came to the Kanawha area as a part of the garrison of Fort Lee. Yet the pay-rolls of Fort Lee do not carry the name of either John or Anne Bailey. John Bailey's name does appear, however, in the records of Kelly's Fort, present site of Cedar Grove. Later, he was transferred to a company of rangers under the command of Captain Hugh Caperton.⁴⁴

Bailey is believed to have died in 1802. Court records show that Anne Bailey, widow of John Bailey, appeared before the County Court on November 3, 1794 with the "will of the said John Bailey." Thus the court entries show that Bailey died in or about October, 1794.⁴⁵

Dr. Cook maintains that a vast amount of papers and documents relating to the Kanawha area do not mention a siege at Fort Lee, nor do they mention Anne Bailey. The papers studied include the records of Fort Lee, and the large collection of manuscripts at Madison, Wisconsin.⁴⁶ The papers, however, do carry the notation that the fort was twice menaced by the Indians, "but from the opposite side of the Kanawha River."⁴⁷

The reader should be reminded that of the material in the foregoing pages, little is of a factual nature, supported by documentary evidence. Rather, this material represents that which has been selected as the most reasonable and believable of a large body of oral tradition and of a considerable amount of printed matter. It should be remembered also that this sifting and selecting of acceptable matter was done by a man of legal training, well equipped to differentiate between what is spurious and what is sound. It seems safe, therefore, to conclude that there was an Anne Bailey, that she did serve as a scout in the Kanawha Valley area, that Fort Lee was threatened by the Indians, and that, quite possibly, Anne did bring powder from Lewisburg. Upon this meager foundation, the whole structure of the Anne Bailey tradition is built. As has been stated, it is the purpose of this study to show how that tradition grew.

⁴⁴ Roy Bird Cook, *The Annals of Fort Lee* (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia Review Press, 1935), pp. 82-83.
⁴⁵ Cook, "Mad Anne," p. 283.
⁴⁶ Cook, *Annals*, pp. 84-85.
⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

IV

Anne's Early Life to Death of Trotter

The earliest known literary mention of Anne Bailey occurred in December, 1825, eleven days after her death, when her obituary was published in the *Gallia Free Press*, Gallia County, Ohio. The obituary was preserved in Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*. James Harper, son of the publisher of the *Gallia Free Press*, found a copy of the obituary hidden away in family papers and gave it to Howe.⁴⁸

Concerning Anne's early life, the writer of the obituary had little to say. He mentioned only that Anne went with her mother from Liverpool to London in 1714, at which time she saw Lord Lovett [sic: correct spelling "Lovat"] beheaded.⁴⁹ Lewis, as has been noted, mentioned this trip to London, giving, however, the correct date of the execution as 1747.

Anne next appeared in print in 1826, this time in a book written by Mrs. Anne Royall. Mrs. Royall's book was entitled *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States*. The book was a series of descriptions of places Mrs. Royall had visited in travels about the United States, plus sketches of a descriptive and biographical nature of interesting people whom she had met. The word pictures are brief and Anne is given approximately one and one-half pages. Concerning Anne's origin Mrs. Royall had nothing to say beyond a brief "This female is a Welch woman . . ."⁵⁰

Thirty-three years after the publication of Mrs. Royall's book, Anne's birthplace was mentioned in print, this time in a book by Emerson Bennett, which bore the colorful title of *Wild Scenes on the Frontier*. In this account Anne's birthplace was given. "She was a native of Liverpool, England, and in her younger, and perhaps better, days had been the wife of a British soldier."⁵¹

George W. Atkinson, in his *History of Kanawha County*, first mentioned the time of Anne's birth, placing it as "about the

⁴⁸ Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Cincinnati, Ohio: C. J. Krebbs and Company, 1892), I, p. 412.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Anne Royall, *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States* (New Haven: Published for the author, 1826), p. 45.

⁵¹ Emerson Bennett, *Wild Scenes on the Frontier* (Philadelphia: Hamelin and Company, 1859), p. 105.

middle of the last century."⁵² More significant, from a literary point of view, than the approximation of the birthdate is the fact that Anne's story is gaining in stature and dignity. Her deeds are now recorded in a book of history.

Augustus Lyncey Mason, in his *Romance and Tragedy of Pioneer Life*, was specific (if not accurate) about Anne's birthdate. Mason gave also her maiden name as Hennis and added: "The creature of whom we write was born in Liverpool, England, about 1750."⁵³

In 1885 Anne's story was told by William P. Buell in the *Magazine of Western History*. Anne had been described at length in a magazine article in 1856, but this earliest mention in a magazine contained little of a biographical nature. Buell's account, however, was biographical and influenced later writers greatly. It did much to build the Anne Bailey tradition, especially as concerns her unusually long life. Buell wrote: "Anne Bailey was born . . . in the year 1700, and was named in honor of Queen Anne, and was present at her coronation in 1705 [sic: Queen Anne was actually crowned in 1702]. She was of good family, and her parents, whose name was Sargent, were people of some means."⁵⁴

By 1885 Anne's maiden name had been given as Hennis and Sargent. Two other names were to be bestowed upon her, Anne Dennis in 1902,⁵⁵ and Anne Hannis in 1927.⁵⁶

Writers agreed, almost unanimously, that Anne was born in Liverpool, England, the one exception being caused, perhaps, by a typographical error. Samuel Harden Stille, in his *Ohio Builds a Nation*, wrote: "She was born in Liverpool, London."⁵⁷

And how did Anne get to America? As has been shown, Lewis wrote that she came to America at the age of nineteen years—after the death of her parents. But earlier and more romantic writers were not content with such simple facts. It

⁵² George W. Atkinson, *History of Kanawha County* (Charleston, West Virginia: Printed at the Office of the West Virginia Journal, 1876), p. 134.

⁵³ Mason, p. 401.

⁵⁴ William P. Buell, "Ann Bailey," *Magazine of Western History*, March, 1885, p. 564.

⁵⁵ W. A. McAllister, "Pioneer Days in Allegheny County," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, X (January, 1902), p. 236.

⁵⁶ News item in the *Herald-Advertiser* (Huntington, West Virginia), September 15, 1927.

⁵⁷ Stille, p. 47.

would seem almost that the early writers vied with each other as to which could produce the most colorful tale. Perhaps none tops the very earliest version, the account given in the magazine article of 1856, "Mad Anne, the Huntress." In this article it was written: "Of her antecedents little is known, except that she was the wife of a dissipated fellow [by the name of Bailey] who, while under the influence of liquor . . . enlisted in H.B.M.'s 7th foot and was immediately sent to America. . . ."⁵⁸ A specified number of wives were permitted to join their soldier husbands serving in the colonies, the selection was made by lottery. Bailey drew a lucky ticket, and Anne came to Virginia.⁵⁹

According to the second woman who wrote about Anne, Elizabeth F. Ellet, the trip to America was made under entirely different circumstances. Anne, at the age of thirty, married Richard Trotter and they came to the new world together, selling out as indentured servants to pay their passage.⁶⁰

The tales grew apace: "Her parents settled in the vicinity of Jamestown, where Anne, two brothers, and three sisters, grew up, having been educated and drilled from the cradle in the manners, customs, and hardships of frontier life. . . . at the age of nineteen, she packed her knapsack and started alone for the western frontier. After many days of laborious travel she reached Fort Union, at which place she took up her abode. Shortly after her arrival at Lewisburg, the fort was attacked by Indians and she displayed so much bravery and such remarkable generalship, that she was at once looked up to as a leader and commander."⁶¹ And further: "When powder and lead were to be brought from Point Pleasant, Williamsburg, or Chillicothe, Anne Bailey was generally sent."⁶²

Buell, who gave Anne's birthdate as 1700, also had a tale concerning her arrival in the Virginias. At the age of nineteen, Anne, while on her way home from school, was kidnapped, books and all, and brought to Virginia, on the James, at which place she was sold to defray her expenses. "After some years

⁵⁸ "Mad Anne," p. 226.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Pioneer Women of the West* (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1873), pp. 245-249.

⁶¹ Atkinson, p. 124.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

of search her parents found her whereabouts, and offered to send her means to return home, but she preferred the new world to the old, in which she figured conspicuously and heroically during a certain portion of her life."⁶³ Another statement by Buell which differs from the Lewis-Cook account, both as to the name of her first husband and as concerns her age at the time of her marriage, is that "At the age of thirty she married a man by the name of John Trotter"⁶⁴

Twenty-two years after Buell's article appeared, the kidnapping story was repeated with embellishments. This version of the story, written by Mrs. James R. Hopley in an extravagant and bombastic style, was published in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications* in 1907. Anne's story was gaining in prestige—if not in plausibility. Mrs. Hopley's addition to the kidnapping story was that Anne's grieving parents came to America in search of their long lost daughter, but that she "demonstrated her love for America by choosing this, rather than England, for her home, so that the Sargents returned without her."⁶⁵

Anne's story had already been recognized as matter suitable for inclusion in an historical publication when, in 1902, W. A. McAllister's "Pioneer Days in Allegheny County" was printed in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. McAllister gave her age, at the time of her coming to America, as thirteen. Also he wrote that at the age of twenty-three she married John Bailey.⁶⁶

Two other variations, concerning Anne's age at the time of her arrival in America and as concerns the name of her first husband, should be noted. In 1923 it was written that, at the age of twenty-three, Anne, married James Trotter.⁶⁷ And in 1931 her age on arriving in America was changed for the last time (to date) when it was written that she was eighteen years old when she came to this country.⁶⁸

The results of this study indicate that the newspapers did not become greatly interested in the Anne Bailey story until

⁶³ Buell, pp. 354-355.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 355.

⁶⁵ Hopley, pp. 342-343.

⁶⁶ McAllister, p. 308.

⁶⁷ O. F. Markin, *A Centennial History of Allegheny County, Virginia* (Dayton, Virginia, J. R. Burroughs Co.), p. 103.

⁶⁸ Harry Edmund Goodell, *Ohio Valley Pioneers* (New York: Rand McNally and Co., 1931), p. 108.

the late twenties. This is, of course, excepting the article by Lewis which appeared in *The State Gazette* in 1901. However, in 1927, the *Herald-Advertiser*, Huntington, West Virginia, carried a news story to the effect that Charleston needed an actress to play the part of Mad Anne Bailey in an historical pageant. In this article a suggestion was made to the effect that Anne came to America as a stowaway.⁶⁹

The stowaway hint was too rich in romantic possibilities to long lie dormant, and in 1935 George W. Summers wrote boldly that "After the death of her parents while she was still of school girl age, Anne shipped from Liverpool as a stowaway and came to America in search of relatives by the name of Bell who lived somewhere in the Virginia colony."⁷⁰

Writers were strangely reticent concerning Anne's only child, a brief sentence usually serving to dispose of the son. Buell, however, in 1885, remembered him: "They had but one child, a boy named William, who was born to them in their advanced age."⁷¹ Later this was rewritten by Mrs. Hopley: "They had one son, who was named William, to whom she was deeply attached, as was Sarah to Isaac, for he was born of her old age."⁷² Mrs. Hopley, influenced by Buell, had given Anne's birthdate as 1700. Lewis gave the date of William's birth as 1767, thus making Anne, according to Hopley, sixty-seven years old at the birth of her only child.

The death of Anne's first husband was generally accepted as having occurred on October 10, 1774 in the battle of Point Pleasant. Deviations were few. The 1856 story, however, related that Anne's first husband, the dissipated soldier named Bailey, was killed near the close of the campaign of 1870.⁷³ Another writer stated that James Trotter, Anne's husband, was with Andrew Lewis's army at Point Pleasant and was killed. This writer added that, judging from bar-room carvings, Lewis's army was believed to have stood almost to a man over six feet two inches tall.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ News item in the *Herald-Advertiser* [Huntington, West Virginia], September 25, 1927.

⁷⁰ George W. Summers, *Pages from the Past* (Charleston, West Virginia: Published by The Charleston Journal, 1935), p. 26.

⁷¹ Buell, p. 555.

⁷² Hopley, p. 343.

⁷³ "Mad Ann," p. 236.

⁷⁴ Theresa D. McClintic, "Mad Anne Bailey, Woman Scout of Virginia," *The Sunday Star*, Washington, D. C., January 10, 1932, Magazine Section, p. 4.

One further quotation concerning the death of Anne's first husband is of interest, first, because of the recent publication date which shows that Anne's story is still growing; and second, because the quotation may be considered as an attempt to explain Anne's extreme bitterness and desire for revenge. In December, 1953, Ruth Scott, writing in the *Richmond Times Dispatch*, had the following to say about Trotter's death: "Anne, who had followed her husband along the line of march, saw the massacre at Point Pleasant and witnessed the brutal slaying of Trotter."²²

A brief restatement of the variations occurring in the story of Anne's early life and a comparison of these variants with the Lewis story seems in order. It will be recalled that Lewis gave Anne's maiden name as Hennis. Other writers have given her name as Dennis, Hannis, and even Sargent.

That Anne was born in Liverpool, England, was almost unanimously accepted, but the identity of her first husband is a matter of considerable difference of opinion. The first mention of him is a vague statement that he was a British soldier. Then he becomes a dissipated soldier named Bailey. Other names followed, including Richard Trotter, John Trotter, John Bailey, and James Trotter.

The place of Anne's first marriage is indefinite, some stating that she was married in Liverpool, some in America.

Stories concerning the manner of Anne's coming to the colonies vary greatly from the reasonable statement by Lewis that, her parents having died, she came to Virginia to live with relatives. Romanticized versions relate that she came to America as the result of a lottery, that she was kidnapped and brought to America, that she came as a stowaway, and that she sold out as a bond-servant to pay her passage.

Lastly, the element of revenge is introduced into the story. This revenge motif is strong and will be encountered again and again as the story develops.

²² Ruth B. Scott, "Mad Anne" Saved the Settlers from the Indians," *Richmond (Virginia) Times Dispatch*, October 28, 1953, Section A, p. 18.

V

Eleven Years of Scouting

As has been noted by Lewis, after the death of her first husband, Anne turned to scouting and recruiting soldiers to fight the Indians and British. The reporting of Anne's career as a wilderness scout and one-woman ammunition train was started with zest by Mrs. Anne Royall in *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the United States*, a book which has already been discussed. Mrs. Royall wrote:

At the time Gen. Lewis's army lay at the Point, a station on Kenhawa river, Ann would shoulder her rifle, hang her shot-pouch over her shoulder, and lead a horse laden with ammunition to the army, two hundred miles distant, when not a man could be found to undertake the perilous task—the way thither being perfect wilderness, and infested with Indians. I asked her if she was not afraid—she replied, 'No, she was not; she trusted the Almighty—she knew she could only be killed, and she had to die sometime.' I asked her if she never met with Indians in her various journeys, (for she went several times) 'Yes, she once met with two, and one of them said to the other, let us kill her, (as she supposed, from the answer of the other) no, said his companion, God dam, too good a soger, and let her pass;' 'but how,' said I, 'did you find the way'—'Steered by the trace of Lewis's army, and I had a pocket compass too.' 'Well, but how did you get over the water courses?'—Some she forded, and some she swam, on others she made a raft: she 'Halways carried a hax and a hauger, and she could chop as well as hany man; . . . '76

It seems well to point out at this time that this is the only account of Anne's scouting activities which connects her directly with the army of General Andrew Lewis. In 1953, Ruth B. Scott, as has been mentioned, related that Anne had followed her husband to Point Pleasant where she witnessed his death. However, Scott did not suggest that Anne served General Lewis as a scout.

Roaming the wilderness as she did, Anne must have been skilled at making camp, and perhaps unique in her methods. At least it was so written.

When making camp at night, Anne would find a likely spot, ride half a mile beyond it, turn her pony loose, hide her saddle,

⁷⁶ Royall, pp. 48-49.

and retrace her steps "to the spot selected which is the foot of a large tree, whose roots afford a sort of niche in which she can recline and sleep. She then digs a hole about eighteen inches deep, and large enough to contain a small fire and allow room for her legs on either side of it. Striking a light, she builds a fire with dead twigs, which she carefully covers up. . . ."⁷⁷

Anne then takes her place between the roots of the tree, her back resting against the trunk. She places her legs in the trough she has dug, one leg on either side of the fire which is carefully covered with her petticoats, only a small opening for draught being left. She is now ready for her evening meal. Anne is fond of alcoholic beverages and as she eats, she drinks copiously from a flask which is her constant companion. ". . . in fact, it is doubtful if she ever parts with it."⁷⁸

Anne slept in the peculiar position described above. When morning dawned she called her "nag" with a peculiar whistle and was soon off on her errand through the wilderness.⁷⁹

As concerns the stories relating to Anne's overfondness for alcoholic drink, it is significant that in 1826, Mrs. Royall had written that Anne "begged a dram" of her.⁸⁰ In this brief phrase the tradition of Anne, as a hard-drinking woman, had its inception. When, thirty years later, in 1856, the story quoted above was published, Anne's reputation as a hard-drinker was firmly established. Interesting also is the fact that the first note of Anne's drinking was made by a woman. In no other instance is this phase of Anne's life mentioned by a woman writer.

During the Indian wars, Anne performed efficient services, carrying messages from Fort Young [near Covington, Virginia] to Point Pleasant, riding over steep mountains, through dense forests, and over rushing streams.⁸¹

The folklore motif of revenge occurs early in the development of the tradition and, as has been suggested, continues throughout the many versions of the tale. In 1873 Mrs. Ellet

⁷⁷ "Mad Ann," p. 228.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Royall, p. 40.

⁸¹ Belmont, p. 102.

wrote that Anne's life was dedicated to avenging her husband's death. To this end she gave up household concerns and female dress and rode about the country attending every muster of soldiers.⁸² So imbued was she with the idea of revenge that it was written of her: "From the period of his death she became possessed with a strange savage spirit of revenge against the Indians."⁸³ She went among the Indians at will, spoke Shawnee fluently, and "told the savages that she was endowed by the Great Spirit with wonderful powers, and that if they interfered with her undertakings she would cause them to be swept from the face of the earth."⁸⁴

According to Atkinson, bad weather did not keep Anne from her duties as a scout, but it did present a problem which she had to solve. Gunpowder must be kept dry, Atkinson, in 1876, wrote, and in bad weather Anne kept her ammunition dry by putting it in caves and hollow logs.⁸⁵

Writers, intent on glorifying Anne, continued to stress her devotion to the cause she had espoused and to exaggerate her success as a scout. In his colorful *Romance and Tragedy of Pioneer Life*, published in 1883, Mason stressed Anne's devotion to "that strange career which spread her name far and wide through the border settlements, and which will perpetuate it so long as the stories of the border struggles are read among men."⁸⁶

Another phase of the glorification of Anne concerns her loyalty to the settlers and her willingness, even eagerness, to serve them in any capacity. Mason ties this will-to-service with her desire for revenge: "No service in behalf of the settlers was too arduous, no mode of injury to the savages too cruel or bloody for her fierce zeal."⁸⁷

Anne's enthusiasm for killing Indians was matched by Buell's enthusiasm for superlatives as concerned Anne: "As soon as she heard of the death of her husband (a presentiment of which she said she had before he was killed by the Indians), and became a widow, a furious, wild, strange fancy possessed her,

⁸² Elliot, p. 202.

⁸³ McKnight, p. 708.

⁸⁴ Atkinson, pp. 124-125.

⁸⁵ Find., p. 125.

⁸⁶ Mason, p. 402.

⁸⁷ Find.